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WHO CAN WASH AWAY GUILT FROM THE HANDS OF JUSTICE?
A workman standing in the lap of Justice outside the Federal Building in St. Louis seems to cry: "Out, out damned spot." The spots accumulated as in a plague last week as a communique came from the star chamber in Hungary; as the Un-American Activities Committee pilloried more men and women in New York; as an Arkansas court decreed that the "tender warriors" of Little Rock must go back to jimcrow schools in the fall. It was not a happy week for freedom.

EXCLUSIVE! ZILLIACUS WRITES:

Co-existence set back in a world dismayed by execution of Nagy

By Konni Zilliacus
Labor Member of Parliament

THE NEWS that Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter and their two companions had been secretly done to death, after a (likewise secret) trial on trumped up charges to which they refused to plead guilty, has spread bewilderment and dismay among all those in the West fighting for a sane and civilized attitude toward the Soviet Union. Contrarywise, it has been a source of ill-concealed satisfaction to the U.S. and British governments, who see in it a Heaven-sent opportunity to ankle out of the summit conference they never wanted but dare not oppose openly.

How could the Russians be so ignorant or so careless of the political conquences as to allow this thing to happen? How could they fail to realize that the deaths of these men would do far more harm to their policy of "peaceful co-existence" than letting them live?

"Russia has gone back to the days of one man rule," say some, "and Khrushchev is another Stalin." But the evolution of the Soviet regime and its relations with the People's Democracies that began even before the death of Stalin and "broke through" dramatically at the 20th Congress in February, 1956, is a one-way irreversible process, due to the new shape and needs of Soviet society. Khrushchev is both Prime Minister and Secretary-General of the Party. But he takes decisions in and through the Presidium (formerly Politbureau) and Central Committee of the Party, which meet regularly and discuss all important issues before decisions are taken.

CLOSER TO THE TRUTH: "The Stalinists have got the upper hand again and Krushchev has had to yield to them for fear of losing his job," is another theory. It comes from Warsaw and was made more circumstantial by saying that Molotov, an Ambassador in Mongolia, had encouraged the Chinese Communists to take the violent "anti-revisionist" and anti-Tito line they have. I believe that is nearer the truth. For, several weeks ago, a prominent French Communist, who had just returned from three months in Moscow, told me Khrushchev's position was far from secure and he needed all the help he could get in the West in the shape of appreciation and support for policies of conciliation and peaceful co-existence.

But even this version misses the point: Khrushchev's line represents the view of the majority of the leadership, and whether he "put it over" or accepted it under pressure is less important than why the Soviet leadership takes this line. That the killing of Nagy is part of the

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SAME OLD PACKAGE BARS ROAD TO PEACE

West uses Hungary to block summit progress

By Kumar Goshal

THE FOLLOWING events last week dimmed prospects for a summit conference and increased the danger of a nuclear war:

- Moscow and Washington published the U.S. proposals made at the conferences between Western ambassadors and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, disclosing seemingly irreconcilable differences.
- Washington, London and Paris declared with remarkable speed that the execution of Imre Nagy and other former Hungarian leaders made a heads-of-government meeting almost unthinkable.
- The House of Representatives approved legislation permitting U.S. sharing of nuclear weapons information with its allies.

SAME OLD PACKAGE: On June 16, the U.S. State Dept. released the texts of three documents comprising Western proposals on the summit agenda, after the U.S.S.R.'s **Tass** agency distributed a summary of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's most recent letter to the heads of the Big Three Western powers.

The documents disclosed that Secy. Dulles—who fathered the proposals—had not budged an inch from his previous position. There was the same insistence on a sweeping, all-inclusive package deal, itemized as follows:

- Disarmament: Measures to control the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons and to reduce existing weapons stockpile; suspension of nuclear tests; reduction and limitation of conventional arms and manpower; measures to guard against surprise attack; use of outer space for peaceful purposes.
- European security and Germany: German reunification; European security, with Western Big Three assurances to the Soviet Union in this regard.
- International exchanges: An end to censorship and jamming of foreign broadcasts; free distribution and sale to the public of books, periodicals and foreign newspapers; freedom of travel.
- Methods of improving international cooperation and of strengthening the UN.
- Ways of easing tensions in Eastern Europe, including establishment of in-

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18 CALLED—NOT ONE COOPERATES

Un-Americans hound 2 from jobs in phony N. Y. theater-TV quiz

By Louis E. Burnham

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities on June 18 and 19 put on a drab performance of an old show, "The Perils of Democracy," before a small and unappreciative audience in the Federal Courthouse at New York's Foley Square. Target of the committee's harassment were 18 workers in the theater, radio and TV fields.

Though the witch-hunters have lost their power to excite wide public interest, they can still do a lot of damage. At the end of their two-day probe at least one director and one stage manager of outstanding TV shows had lost their jobs, a stage manager of Shakespeare's plays faced further investigation by his employers, two witnesses were left with threats of denaturalization proceedings hanging over their heads, and others faced an uncertain occupational future.

Charles S. Dubin, TV director, told the committee he is not now a member of the Communist Party but refused to answer questions about his politics prior to May 8, date of a closed hearing.

FAST FIRING: Dubin was director of the "Twenty-One" show, its summer re-

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Herblock in Washington Post
"All we want is the truth as we see it."

THE MAIL BAG

Villainelle

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Oh, how I wish I had a friend
with a heart of gold (fine)
How pleasant life would be,
how suite.
For a pal like that—a veritable goldmine—
I'd even let them pull the rug
from under my feet.

Yuri Suhl

Grave danger

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I am writing an appeal for the stopping of nuclear tests. I bid you to use your influence to terminate these man-killing tests. The world is in grave danger, and as a 16-year-old youth, I want to be able to live a normal life, and have those around me given the same chance. Your help is greatly needed by the world.

Stephen Engber

World anti-bomb conference

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Japan Council Against A & H-bombs has issued an appeal for the Fourth World Conference Against A & H-bombs and for Disarmament to be held in Tokyo between Aug. 15 and 20 this year, in order to "supply diverse trends of peace movements of the world with an occasion to meet, find common ground for cooperation through friendly discussion and draw up common program of actions where agreements are possible."

Organizations and individuals interested in the Conference or activities and publications of the Japanese group can write to the Japan Council Against A & H-bombs, Kyoiku-Kaikan, Kanda-Hitotsubashi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

Kunio Sasaki

Jacob & Esau

BURBANK, CALIF.

Is the Book of Genesis a guide for Sen. Knowland's campaign for the governorship? Jacob, when going to meet his brother Esau, whom he had defrauded, felt a bit nervous, and so sent his wife Leah and the children ahead to see whether the reception would be kindly or otherwise. Was the Senator thinking of this when he sent Mrs. Knowland, two daughters and a daughter-in-law out in a traveling caravan to districts possibly hostile?

John Manning

A chaplain speaks

CHICAGO, ILL.

A recent dispatch from Bonn, Germany, tells of the parole, by the U.S. Embassy, of four Nazi war criminals. Three of them were commanders of extermination squads who in 1948 had received death sentences.

A still more recent Tokyo news story describes the release of the last 18 Japanese war criminals held by the U.S. Several of these were medical students accused of using American prisoners as guinea pigs for medical experimentation.

As a former Army chaplain who served with combat troops in World War II, I accept such mercy and forgiving by our government even toward former enemies guilty of the most atrocious crimes.

What is the policy of our government toward American citizens who are classified as prisoners of the current "cold war"? In the latter case, the crime seems to have consisted mainly of expressing opinions contrary to those of our government leaders.

A former Chicagoan, Gilbert Green, faces five more years of confinement in Leavenworth Penitentiary for violation of the Smith Act. Green will be eligible for parole this fall. Will the authorities show a comparable kindness of heart toward this prisoner, against whom no physical overt act has been charged? Or does the moral judgment of our government base itself upon the shifting winds of political expediency?

(Rev.) William T. Baird

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The United States must continue to develop and test new atomic weapons or commit national suicide, Rev. Dr. Harold L. Fickett Jr., minister of the Tremont Temple Baptist Church, warned last night.

Dr. Fickett . . . declared that those advocating the discontinuing of atomic testing based their theories on two false interpretations of the Scriptures.

Dr. Fickett emphasized that many religious leaders based their action on the erroneous doctrine that God is the Father of all human personality and all men are brothers and upon the idea that the Bible teaches that all men are to practice the Golden Rule. "This may come as a surprise to you," he said, "but I say without fear of contradiction that Jesus Christ never intended that it should be practised except between Christians."

—Boston **Globe** 6/2/58

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B.L.W., Revere, Mass.

A troublemaker

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Discrimination and racism appear in the most unexpected places.

If you want to take advantage of a combination offer for a well-known magazine and a Webster's New 20th Century Unabridged DeLuxe 2nd Edition Dictionary, Publishers Guild, 130 W. 42nd St., N.Y., must know not only your name, address, where you work, but must know your race.

I signed a contract for the combination offer and paid $3 as a deposit. Two days later I received the publisher's contract and discovered that the form included the question RACE ..... What that had to do with owning a dictionary I could not understand.

I called the manager of the magazine and he promised that he would take immediate action to disassociate his organization from Publishers Guild if they continued the practice of including this question.

I called the manager of Publishers Guild and told him that I would not sign the contract and that I wanted my deposit back. He answered: "You are just one of those troublemakers who has plenty of time on his hands and doesn't know what to do with it. We have good reason to include this question and will continue to do so."

The incident was reported to the Anti-Defamation League and they have promised to look into the matter.

Sam Novick

Most wonderful book

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

It seems to me that Elmer Bendiner's review of Jacob Bronowski's **Science and Human Value** does not show the book for what it really is and may cause some GUARDIAN readers to miss reading it. To me, it is almost the most wonderful book I have ever read.

Mr. Bendiner seems to have missed the point. There is no "glossing over" for the book is not a presentation of our society as it is but sets forth what true science is and how closely it relates to, and is needed by, human needs and human aspirations. "Scientists who serve political ends," referred to by Mr. Bendiner, Mr. Bronowski would say are not scientists at all and we should never consider them such.

It is a fact that top-flight scientists in all countries, numbering thousands, have steadily warned against the frightful danger and utter wickedness of atomic warfare.

Are not these scientists responsible for the alarm and passionate protests in all countries against even atom-bomb testing? A fire has been lit that may yet enlighten the world. It does not take a scientific mind to realize that if the human race is exterminated, bread and freedom are meaningless words belonging to ancient history.

Margaret A. Fellows

Chess, anyone?

MUSCATINE, IOWA

Glad to have the news about Irv Kandel being a chess "menace" in his locality. Seems to me the world is in need of such "menaces." Kandel must have made some fancy moves. Here is a move that he might try: start a chess club among GUARDIAN readers.

Your move.

K. Bates

Sunday Express, London

"Only once we didn't get our money back."

Trying circumstances

ARNOLD, MD.

You fellows are doing a marvelous job and I do hope you can not only hang on but also grow as you deserve to. In a great many years of reading radical papers and magazines, yours is the only one that, besides the very solid information it gives (with the exception of old Nasser) also is witty, interesting and human and alive. Congratulations for a superb job done under most difficult and trying circumstances.

Wilmer T. Stone

Wants answer

BELHAVEN, N.C.

"If the U. S. continues to fly nuclear-armed bombers in the direction of Russia, Russia will start flying nuclear-armed bombers in the direction of the U.S., Russia announced." Such was the news our family heard over the radio.

"What could be fairer than that?" asked our 11-year-old son.

Will some 70-year-old statesman please answer?

Vernon Ward

Secticide sought

CLEVELAND, OHIO

If sectarianism is to be condemned among religious people, it certainly is to be condemned in a movement the hope of which lies in the application of scientific method to social organization.

I believe an airing of the problem of sectarianism will contribute to its elimination and can reveal a way in which unity does not contradict diversity.

J. A. Sobon

Dulles dilemma

JAMAICA, N.Y.

**He may get his bases, but now
he faces
The threat of peace in our time.**

M. J.

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REPORT TO READERS

Speak up, citizens!

IT IS MOST URGENT that readers of this newspaper and others who concur with you on the question of civil liberties get into action **NOW** against the Jenner-Butler Bill and companion efforts to dismantle the great Supreme Court decisions of the last two years.

All readers will remember the Congressional stampede of the summer of 1954, when the Senate unanimously and the House with only two dissenting votes passed the Brownell Bills, including a measure outlawing the Communist Party and another enabling the Attorney General to destroy any labor union deemed to be "Communist-infiltrated." The confusion surrounding the voting, in the mad rush to adjourn Congress at the end of August, was so great that no legislator at that moment knew just what the legislation contained. The day before President Eisenhower signed the omnibus measure, the N.Y. **Times** reported that the text that went to the White House "was never available to the whole of Congress nor to the press and public." Also passed at the same time, with only Sen. Lehman dissenting, was the Immunity Act, aimed at nullifying the Fifth Amendment.

THE PRESENT CONGRESS is headed for the same kind of a summer stampede over S. 2646, the Jenner-Butler Bill, and at least three measures in the House by Democrats Walter of Pennsylvania, Smith of Virginia and Willis of Louisiana. These embody the same features as the Senate's Jenner-Butler Bill plus a nullifier of the Mallory decision which freed a prisoner because he had been held too long before arraignment and denied access to counsel. Under the Jenner-Butler Bill:

- Supreme Court jurisdiction would be denied in reviews of admissions to the bar by state bar associations. The Supreme Court exercised this jurisdiction in ruling in the Konigsberg and Schware cases that the appellants had been unconstitutionally barred from practice because of alleged political beliefs.
- The Watkins decision would be nullified by making Congress the sole judge of whether the questions of investigating committees are pertinent, thus depriving the citizen of the right of judicial review in contempt of Congress proceedings.
- The Nelson decision would be nullified, thus putting back into force sedition laws in 42 states which the Supreme Court ruled had been superseded by the Smith Act. This was the decision under which not only Communist leader Steve Nelson avoided a 20-year sentence under Pennsylvania's law, but also Carl Braden and other defendants were freed after indictments under Kentucky's law for buying a house for a Negro family in a white neighborhood. Carl Braden had already been sentenced to 15 years in jail. The Jenkins Case in Louisiana also relies on the Nelson decision.
- The Yates decision, under which the California Smith Act defendants were freed and other Smith Act prosecutions ended or crippled throughout the country, would be nullified by amending the Smith Act to make a crime of theoretical advocacy of overthrow of the government and even the encouragement of others to join groups where such abstract beliefs are taught. Under the Jenner-Butler Bill, President Lincoln could have gone to jail for affirming the people's right to overthrow their government.

THE ADMINISTRATION reportedly does not want the Jenner-Butler Bill, but prefers S. 654, by Republicans Bridges of New Hampshire and Javits of New York. This bill, with an identical companion, H.R. 977, introduced by Walter in the House, would merely nullify the Nelson decision.

Javits, classified among the Senate's liberals, was a former N.Y. State Attorney General and supports the right of states to have their own sedition laws without Supreme Court interference. On the other hand the same Javits, with a bloc of other Senate liberals, is cosponsor of a Constitutional Amendment which would cancel the power of Congress to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. This will be offered as a substitute to the Jenner-Butler Bill. But Mississippi's Eastland plans to offer the Jenner-Butler Bill as an amendment to the Alaska Statehood Bill, thus getting it on the floor out of turn and delaying action on the Statehood Bill.

Judge for yourself the mounting confusion. Then add to it the upcoming bills to circumvent the Supreme Court decision freeing the right to passports from control of the State Dept. (see p. 3). We endorse, for citizen action, the words of Dr. Corliss Lamont as a meeting in New York June 18 of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"What we need is mass pressure on Congress to prevent any such legislation going through. Please write or telegraph your two Senators and your Congressman. Also, Washington, D.C., is a very interesting place. So why not pay a personal call there on your Senators and Congressman and let your forceful personality and convincing conversation persuade them?"

—THE GUARDIAN

IT WAS A BI-PARTISAN JOB ON THE UNEMPLOYED

The great sellout: Washington decides there's no recession

By Russ Nixon
Washington representative of the independent United Electrical Workers

WASHINGTON

THE EISENHOWER Administration and Congress have decided to ride out the depression without any serious anti-unemployment actions. Ruled out are a tax cut, real improvement in unemployment insurance, and a job-creating public works program.

Following the decision against tax cuts, the **Wall Street Journal** headlined its story: "Congressional Shift: Lawmakers Turn from Slump to Other Issues." Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) said the tax cut issue represented "the last of the anti-recession drives . . . The recession is not quite so fearsome as we thought . . ." Rep. William H. Ayres (R-Ohio) noted the shift to other issues "now that recession's fading."

These decisions were made as the depression nears its first birthday. Instead of recovery, this month finds the U.S. with about 6,000,000 totally unemployed and another 4,000,000 partially unemployed. Manufacturing as a whole is operating at only 70% of capacity. And the outlook is bad.

AT SOUP KITCHENS THE JOBLESS FORMED LINES LIKE THIS AT BIDDEFORD-SACO, ME.

GLOOMY REPORT: The latest report by the staff of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee is termed "gloomy" by the New York **Times.** The staff experts reported on June 4 that "economic activity has continued to decline and there are as yet few signs of an early upturn." Based on what the Joint Committee calls "optimistic assumptions," unemployment is expected still to be more than 5,000,000 during the first quarter of 1959. It is warned that "a less rapid recovery could be accompanied by as many as 7,000,000 unemployed, or over 10% of the civilian labor force, in the first quarter of the year."

The report says "the mainspring of the present economic contraction is the sharp reduction in business spending for new plant and equipment . . ." and indicates that business investment will be even lower next year.

None of this has restrained the optimistic pronouncements of the White House, which prompted the N.Y. **Times** to comment:

"The Administration's policy of attacking the steadily lengthening business recession by the device of wishful thinking seems to have moved into the desperation stage."

The tragedy is that this groundless approach of easy optimism is used to justify a "do nothing" policy, leads to a reckless gamble with the economy, and loads the burden of the depression on the unemployed and their families.

TAX CUT VITAL: Most expert economists appearing before the Joint Economic Committee said that a substantial tax cut was vital for recovery. Not only labor held this view, but so did the 12 Federal Reserve Bank presidents, the Committee for Economic Development, the chairman of J. P. Morgan & Co., and the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Arthur Burns, chairman from 1952 to 1957 of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, strongly urged a five or six billion dollar cut. Even Vice President Nixon and Labor Secy. Mitchell favored tax reduction.

Rarely has such wide support existed for such an issue, but when the decision came, the "do nothing" and old-fashioned "balance the budget" approach prevailed and the biggest and fastest acting anti-depression tool was given bipartisan rejection.

Congress has also rejected proposals to improve unemployment compensation to relieve workers of some of the disastrous effects of being out of work. Since its original enactment in 1935, the unemployment insurance system has lagged behind the rise of prices and wages. In many ways, the benefits are less adequate today than they were 20 years ago.

LEGISLATIVE HOAX: Some 1,500,000 workers have already exhausted their regular jobless benefits. Another 1,500,000 will do so during the remainder of 1958. In addition, 2,000,000 jobless are outside the unemployment insurance system altogether. For these workers, the only recourse is public relief. To qualify for this aid, the jobless worker has to meet State and local "means tests," and must establish himself, as House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Mills describes it, "as in a state of abject poverty, without assets of any kind."

Faced with this serious human crisis, Congress enacted a "Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act" which AFL-CIO President Meany called "the biggest legislative hoax ever perpetrated on the unemployed workers in America." The measure **permits** states to extend by 50% the period of coverage of their unemployment benefits and provides a Federal loan to the states for this purpose. The fakery of the action lies in the fact that all states could take this step without any new law and Federal funds were already available if a state needed help to extend its jobless benefits. It is doubtful that any jobless worker will get a single extra dollar of benefit because of this action by Congress.

Congress rejected a proposal, backed by labor, to establish uniform Federal standards extending coverage to 40 weeks, and substantially increasing benefits in all states. Congress rejected another proposal which would have required extended coverage of 16 weeks at increased benefit levels paid for by the Federal Government itself, and would have given this protection to 2,000,000 jobless not now covered.

WEAK SUPPORT: Hearings on jobless insurance both in the Senate and the House were dominated by spokesmen for Chambers of Commerce, Manufacturers Associations, and other business groups. The support for a real advance in unemployment compensation was spotty and weak. The AFL-CIO arranged that only one labor appearance was made at the House and Senate hearings. Only a staff representative appeared to testify for the AFL-CIO. No unemployed worker was to be seen either at the hearings or during the debate and votes. There were 17 separate employer witnesses in the House hearings alone.

Except for a UE Washington lobby during the Senate debate, there was no mobilization of union membership to defeat what the AFL-CIO itself calls a "cruel hoax."

The Democrats were divided and ineffective. Their labor-backed bill was completely undercut by a rival bill and didn't even come up on the House floor for consideration. **Newsweek** (5/12/58) reported after the House vote: "For losers in this skirmish, the Democratic leadership seemed unconcerned, even pleased. Little effort was made during the two-day floor fight to hold the Southern Democrats in line . . . Even before they lost the vote, Democratic Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts told reporters 'Even if we lose, we're going to win. I'd love to have this as an issue if I were running in a close District'."

In the Senate, Democratic Leader Johnson (D-Tex.) was reported just before the Senate debate as not having made up his mind between the Eisenhower hoax and the Democratic proposals. He finally voted right, but that's hardly leadership.

NO PUBLIC WORKS: The refusal by the Republicans in Congress and in the Administration to support a public works program for jobs completes the "do nothing" program.

The Senate did pass with bipartisan support a Depressed Areas bill providing $375,000,000 aid for chronic unemployment areas. With the Administration strongly opposed, the fate of this bill in the House is uncertain. Other legislation given an "anti-recession" label is very limited and usually is just normal long-run legislative action with a special 1958 title.

Meanwhile, 10,000,000 lack the work they need, the Gallup Poll reports four out of every ten American families are hurt already by the depression, and the outlook is gloomy for recovery to full employment.

WALTERS TRIPS OVER HIMSELF IN CONGRESS

Witch-hunters leap in to overturn passport ruling

CONGRESSIONAL heresy-hunters bolted into action without a day's delay in a move to overturn the effects of the Supreme Court's June 16 ruling that the State Dept. has no authority to withhold passports for political reasons.

In their familiar roles as leaders of the anti-Court cabal were Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) and Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairmen of the House and Senate judiciary committees. Declaring that "the immediate enactment of remedial legislation is necessary," Walter came forward on June 17 with a bill to plug the loophole revealed by the Court's decision: that the Secretary of State's long-abused "discretion" in issuing passports had been exercised without legislative mandate.

BILLS IN COMMITTEE: The Walter bill would empower the State Dept. to refuse to issue or renew passports to anyone whose travel abroad would, in the opinion of the Secretary, "be prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign affairs," or "otherwise prejudicial to the interests of the United States." Under the bill, applicants would be denied access to confidential information used against them by the Passport Division or by appeals agencies of the State Dept.

Eastland was only one day later in introducing an elaborate companion bill (S. 4030) in the Senate.

Both bills were referred to the judiciary committees. Both raised constitutional questions which were not reached by the Supreme Court in the Kent-Briehl and Dayton decisions. The Court in these cases slapped down the Government's restrictions on the sole ground that Congress had not authorized them. In his majority opinion, however, Justice Douglas did say that "we deal here with a constitutional right . . . which we must assume Congress will be faithful to respect."

UNHELPFUL "MEANS TEST": Right-wing impatience with constitutional rights as interpreted by the Court was reflected in a column by David Lawrence in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (6/18). Lawrence called for a law which would apply to "any Communist or Communist sympathizer or even a misguided person who isn't a Communist" but who "might . . . during his travels abroad . . . embarrass the United States government in the carrying out of its policies."

The N.Y. **Times** voiced editorial approval of the Court decision, calling it "an important step in safeguarding from arbitrary interference the American citizen's inherent right to travel." It pointed out that the "political means test" for foreign travel "has not been helpful to the security or to the good name of the United States."

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) was one of the few Congressional leaders who spoke in support of the decision. He would seek liberal co-sponsorship of a "new passport procedure and freedom of unrestrictive movement bill."

THOSE QUESTIONS: Secy. of State Dulles, on learning of the decision, withheld comment on whether the State Dept. would take steps to appeal the ruling or would immediately adjust its procedures to conform with its provisions. Meanwhile, a prominent legal authority in the passport field suggested that applicants who are requested to fill out forms including questions about political affiliations should ignore the questions or answer questions with the legend: "See Kent and Briehl v. U.S."

N.Y. **Times** Washington correspondent Anthony Lewis suggested (June 22) that the State Dept. "will presumably just hold up any applications on which the questions about Communist membership are not answered."

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE HUNGARIAN EXECUTIONS

Let us have an end of blood and a beginning of reason

IN THIS ISSUE OF THE GUARDIAN we have attempted to set forth the implications of the Hungarian executions, in a factual and interpretive fashion, from several points of departure. Konni Zilliacus discusses the question from a political standpoint, especially as it affects long-range international affairs. Kumar Goshal takes it up as it affects the immediate question of a summit conference. Elmer Bendiner analyzes the legal questions and comes to an inescapable philosophical conclusion.

It remains for us on the GUARDIAN as a whole to express ourselves from a human standpoint—and from this standpoint we can only regard the execution of Imre Nagy and his colleagues in the October uprising as shocking and appalling. We have long campaigned against the death sentence and political death sentences certainly seem to us no exception. That the men should have been tried, convicted and executed in secret, without the opportunity for public review, is appalling to us in another sense. To portray the Hungarian people as "unanimous and deeply satisfied" with the executions is barbaric journalism.

WE REJECT THE ARGUMENT that comment such as this may be unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Such an argument might just as easily have been raised in the fight to keep Ethel and Julius Rosenberg from going to the electric chair. If there had been no great worldwide protest the Rosenbergs would have gone to their unjust deaths not as everlasting symbols of faith in decent humanity, but as the unfortunate victims of doubtful justice in a sovereign state. And we note, without any attempt to justify the proceedings, that they were tried in open court and there was time, before their death, for the Pope in Rome and for millions of others to appeal for clemency.

For Imre Nagy and his colleagues there was no such opportunity.

The plain fact is that injustice anywhere is a universal concern; and any man or woman who feels that a life has been taken unjustly has the right—and the duty—to speak up.

IN ALL COMMON SENSE AND SENSIBILITY it is hard to fathom the new tragic events in Budapest. They will not in the long run deter heresy in Hungary, Yugoslavia or Poland, or the Soviet Union or China, any more than the death sentence has wiped out murder for profit or for lust in the United States or Great Britain. Men will argue and think and have differences as long as they can breathe—which is not to say that they cannot agree on basic ideals for the betterment of the human race.

BUT DESPITE THE KNOWLEDGE that such wrongs can be—and something surely has gone wrong—we refuse to lose hope in the possibility of human survival, nor will we be moved in our determination that the fight for peaceful co-existence must go on and succeed. The first job is to fight against the pessimism being peddled by the hypocrites in high places in the Free World as to the possibility of dealing with "those whose hands are stained with blood." All hands are stained with blood—whether they have triggered napalm bombs in Korea, electric torture in Algeria or the rifles of a firing squad in Budapest.

Let us have an end of blood and a beginning of reason. For this we appeal with all our intelligence and all our hearts to all men everywhere.

—THE EDITORS

Zilliacus writes

(Continued from Page 1)

tougher attitude towards "revisionism" in general and Tito in particular is generally accepted. But why the tougher attitude?

A BIT OF HISTORY: That it arises out of some very big issues is suggested by the fact that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party was called together again in the middle of June, although it had just met in May. So was the Chinese Central Committee. That the meetings were connected with the international situation may be inferred from the fact that the chief Soviet and Chinese ambassadors were summoned to attend their Central Committees (of which the Paris, London, and Washington Soviet Ambassadors at any rate are "candidate-members").

When Stalin died there was a big attempt to do away with the abuses and evils of the "personality cult" (i.e. Stalinism) and to make a reality of independence and equality in relations with the People's Democracies; to effect a reconciliation with Tito, and to work out a "peaceful co-existence" settlement with the West. The "many roads to Socialism," including the parliamentary path, proclaimed by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress, and Mao Tse-tung's "100 flowers" doctrine were part of these developments.

But going from dictatorship to freedom is always difficult. At the start it's a case of "give the people an inch and they will take an ell." At the end is the critical "point of no return" when so much power has been surrendered by those who had a monopoly of it that they cannot take it back if they change their minds.

SOVIET'S MAIN CONCERN: The Berlin riots, the Polish revolution and the Hungarian rising were nasty shocks. The people were taking an ell.

GEN. PAL MALETER
In the resistance to the end

The West did not respond to Soviet policies of conciliation, either officially or on the plane of the Social Democratic parties. The Anglo-French attack on Suez was a slap in the face to the Russians, and contributed powerfully, if not decisively, to their change of mind about letting Hungary go her own way. The Cold War was on again.

In these circumstances Soviet policy became more and more concerned with holding the Soviet bloc together—on a lighter rein, more loosely and within wider limits for tolerance and discussion. The "socialist commonwealth" replaced the "socialist camp" in official terminology—but still under Soviet leadership and with the need for laying down limits, both internally and internationally, and for getting them accepted and, where necessary, enforced.

YUGOSLAV DISPUTE: All this of course had to be justified in terms of "Marxist-Leninist" ideology. Hence the declaration of the 12 Communist parties in Moscow last November, the increasingly sharp condemnation of "revisionists," and the quarrel with Tito, who refused to sign the declaration of the twelve. He becomes the arch revisionist and refuses to become a member of the "socialist commonwealth."

For a long time Khrushchev apparently hoped he would do so, voluntarily and gradually, and pursued a soft policy. But not only were the Yugoslavs intransigent in practice: they, being also good Communists, insisted on producing their own brand of Marxism-Leninism as the ideological justification for their "neutralist" stand.

The Russians at first tried to keep the argument on a courteous, "objective" plane. But the atmosphere was spoiled by the violent Chinese attack and the boycott of the Yugoslav Party Congress. The Yugoslavs, on the other hand, have never been remarkable for a meek and long-suffering spirit when criticized, and fully lived up to their reputation.

CHINESE POSITION: The Chinese have been particularly violent because (a) Mao Tse-tung was taken aback by the way Chinese intellectuals took advantage of his "100 flowers" doctrine; (b) during that period Yugoslav Communist ideas had a considerable influence on Chinese "revisionism"; (c) the Yugoslav Communist League's new program ideologically justifies "neutralism" and the melting down of the rival blocs in the United Nations.

But the Chinese People's Republic is not recognized by the U.S.; is not only denied her permanent seat on the Security Council, but sees it occupied by Chiang Kai-shek; lost many lives and feels a permanent threat to her security by the way the UN was used for Dulles' war of counter-revolutionary intervention in Korea. To Chinese eyes the UN is simply an instrument of American imperialism.

THE FUTURE: The killing of Nagy, in this view, and the row with Tito mean that henceforth "revisionists" are going to be treated as enemies within the "socialist commonwealth" and as beyond the pale outside. The limits for discussion and tolerance are going to be clarified and enforced by coercion.

The international corollary to—and cause of—this is that the Soviet leaders have despaired of getting anywhere with the present leaders of Western democracy and are getting more and more nervous at the distribution of nuclear weapons to western Europe and Germany, and the revival of fascism in France. At the same time they believe they are pulling ahead in the nuclear weapons race and in technology and education generally; are outstripping the West in the economic field, and are far ahead socially and in the treatment of "colonial" peoples.

Therefore, they reason, time is on their side, and they will (a) simply go on building up the economic, military and scientific strength of the "socialist commonwealth"; (b) continue to "win friends and influence people" among the colonial and ex-colonial, "uncommitted" peoples; (c) play a waiting, cards-close-to-the-chest game with the Western powers, until the processes of decay and collapse have gone far enough in the Western camp to rouse their peoples out of their supineness and bring their governments to their senses.

A SIMILARITY: Except that it stands for peaceful co-existence, relies on political and economic developments and eschews policies of military intervention —not unimportant differences—there is a distinct similarity in all this to Dulles' attitude to peace-making with the Soviet bloc. But if so, it is largely Dulles' own doing, the result of his policy of "anti-Communist liberation," and he has got what he asked for—and presumably wants.

In practice the Soviet, Chinese and other Communist leaders are, in the long run, hardly more likely to be successful in stifling "dangerous thoughts," checking divisive tendencies and imposing limits to freedom in their own countries than Dulles, Macmillan and the other defenders of the old order will be in the West. And the more one bloc starts crumbling, the stronger the disintegrating pressures within the other.

BRITAIN'S ROLE: It is fear of the other that holds each together. That is why the best service we in Britain can render to peace is to work for the victory of Labor at the next election, pledged to a policy that would substantiate East-West regional agreements based on the UN Charter for the rival alliances; and be prepared, if necessary, to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. even without the U.S.

And, in the last resort, to apply the principle that if the U.S. will not come to terms with us on how to make peace, Britain must refuse any longer to be committed by the U.S. to going to war.

Herblock in Washington Post
Man overboard

NOTICE

BEGINNING with the next issue, dated July 7, the GUARDIAN will appear in its customary summertime eight-page edition until after Labor Day. The 12-page edition will be resumed with the issue dated Sept. 15. The news and special features will be as up-to-date as ever through the summer.

World reactions to executions are sharp

REACTIONS TO THE Hungarian executions from the Left around the world were prompt and sharp. The Yugoslav government sent a protest to Budapest expressing "deep bitterness." Premier Gomulka of Poland reportedly sent a note to Moscow disassociating his government from any part in the executions. India's Prime Minister Nehru called the news "most distressing" in itself and because of "possible consequences," but saw in it no reason to postpone a summit conference.

In Britain Arthur Horner, a Communist and leader of the Natl. Union of Mineworkers, telephoned newspapers to express "shock and horror." He said that to kill Imre Nagy and his associates "was pointless because they did not kill what they stood for."

BACK TO THE STAR CHAMBER IN HUNGARY

The 'crimes' for which Imre Nagy was killed

By Elmer Bendiner

ON NOV. 4, 1956, Imre Nagy and 17 of his close friends and their families claimed the right af asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest. Hungary was still seething. "Workers' Councils" were demanding that Nagy be restored to the government. On Nov. 14 Premier Janos Kadar told a delegation that if Nagy left the Embassy "it would be possible to consult and reach agreement with him." On Nov. 21 the Kadar government, verbally and in writing, came to an agreement with the Yugoslav government that "it has no intention of taking punitive action against Imre Nagy and members of his group because of their past activities."

On Nov. 22 the Hungarian government sent a bus to the Yugoslav Embassy to pick up Nagy and his friends. He stepped into the bus at 6:30 that evening expecting to be driven home. On Nov. 23 Premier Kadar announced that Nagy was in Rumania, reportedly at his own request. The official Hungarian view of Nagy then was that he was a victim of counter-revolutionaries who might kill him.

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE: Nothing more was heard of Nagy until March, 1957, when a spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Office declined to comment on the possibility of a trial for Nagy but added: "The courts of the Hungarian People's Republic institute proceedings against everyone who endangers the rule of the working class."

The next — and final — communique came last week from the official Hungarian news agency announcing that Imre Nagy had been tried in secret and executed. Also put to death were Gen. Pal Maleter, and two prominent journalists, Miklos Gimes and Jozef Szilagyi. Five others active in the Nagy regime were given sentences ranging from five years to life imprisonment. Nagy, Maleter and Szilagy had not fully confessed, the news agency said, but the others had.

Hungarian refugees and sympathizers rioted in Copenhagen, Montevideo and New York. Moscow crowds answered with their own riot outside the Danish Embassy. Western governments expressed horror as if they had never before seen blood on their own hands. But others, friendly to the Soviet Union and partisans of socialism and co-existence were horrified too.

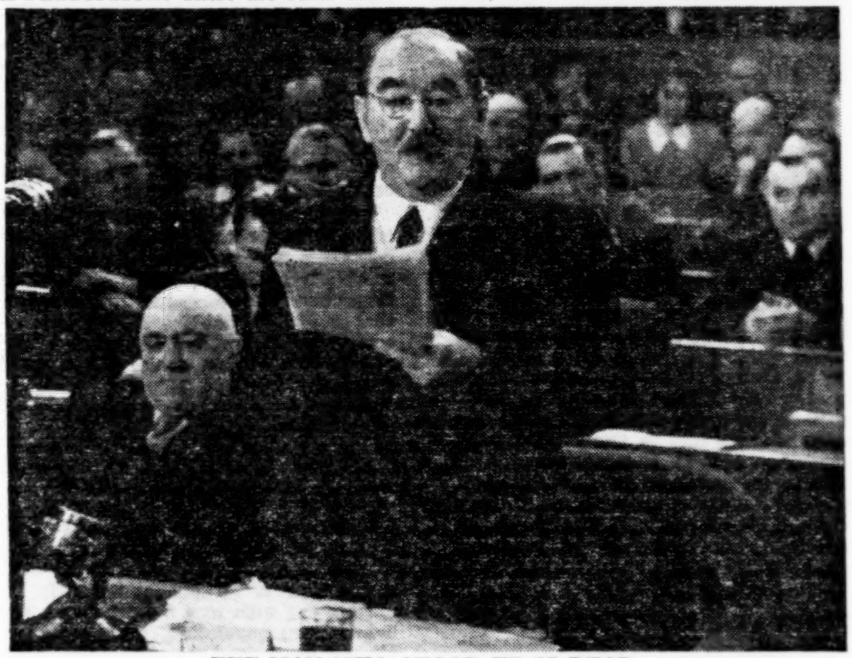
The Hungarian government gave only the barest details: the trial had lasted 12 days and was concluded early in June. Nagy, Gimes and Szilagy were hanged and Maleter was shot, probably during the week-end of June 14-15. The indictment and verdict were summarized in a lengthy communique.

THE CHARGES: The group was charged with the deaths of 234 persons and the imprisonment of 3,000 "progressive persons, loyal to the system of the people's democracy." They were accused of planning to execute all these and 10,000 others besides. The communique gave no details in support of the charges. The group was described as a "conspiracy" which culminated in a "counter-revolutionary armed revolt with the aim of overthrowing the legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic." The movement, it was said, drew its inspiration from three articles by Nagy written in 1955 and early in 1956. The communique calls them "secret." Actually, they had been mimeographed and sent to all members of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. Last year they were included in a volume of Nagy's writing published in the U.S. (**Imre Nagy On Communism**, Frederick A. Praeger.)

The Hungarian statement charges that in his essay, **Morals and Ethics**, Nagy "called the people's democratic state order 'a degenerated Bonapartist power' and incited to its overthrow by force." The paragraph in the book in which that phrase occurs follows:

"The Party membership and the Hungarian people . . . do not want a return to capitalism. They want a people's democratic system in which the ideals of socialism become reality, in which the ideals of the working class regain their true meaning, in which public life is based on higher morals and ethics; they want a system that is actually ruled not by a degenerate Bonapartist authority and dictator but by the working people through legality and self-created law and order. They want a People's Democracy where the working people are masters of the country and of their own fate, where human beings are respected, and where social and political life is conducted in the spirit of humanism."

A PREDICTION: There are other references to "Bonapartism" in the essay but the epithet is unfailingly applied to the dictatorial nature of the Rakosi regime, very much as Kadar and Soviet Premier Khrushchev on other occasions have referred to the "cult of the individual," in speaking of Stalin as well as former Hungarian Premier Matyas Rakosi. Rakosi is reported in Moscow.



THE MAN WHO STOOD UP IS DEAD
As premier, Imre Nagy vowed to end Rakosi-ism; Rakosi (seated) survived

The charges do not refer to a prediction which Nagy made in the same essay. He said then that it was still in order to return to the liberalized Communism which was instituted when he first came into the government in June, 1953, and rescinded in 1954. Then he added: "However, if this does not happen soon, there is a danger that the masses, having lost their faith, will reject both the June way and the Communist Party, and it will become necessary to make a much greater retreat in order to keep the situation under control. The senselessness and political blindness of the Rakosi type of Party and government leadership makes it less and less certain where we will be able to stop." That prediction came true in October, 1956. The prophet did not long survive the fulfillment.

FIVE PRINCIPLES: Other ideological charges against Nagy include his article **The Five Basic Principles of International Relations**, in which he is said to advocate " 'liquidation of the bloc policy', the nullification of the Warsaw Pact . . and placing the country in the hands of the imperialists."

The "five principles" Nagy championed in his article are the ones agreed to at the Bandung Conference, asserting national sovereignty and the freedom of each nation in its internal affairs from interference by other nations. He called for the dissolution of "power blocs" as a road to co-existence and said: "In the fight against aggressive power politics the most potent force is the great and solid strength of the socialist nations, headed by the Soviet Union, which at present constitutes the basis of the greatest anti-war group in the world." He advocated "neutrality and active co-existence" for small nations, irrespective of their systems of government.

In a third essay called **Some Current Questions** Nagy advocated what the indictment described as "relinquishing the power of the workers' class, the restoration of the multi-party system." In it Nagy said the Soviet CP had earned the leadership of the socialist world but that socialism need not develop everywhere as it did in the Soviet Union.

THE USE OF FORCE: In language that recalls Mao Tse-tung's statements of a year ago on permitting "all flowers to bloom," he wrote: "Development in building a socialist society is not attained by large-scale use of force but by eliminating antagonistic interests in the social and economic spheres, by systematically decreasing the use of force to eliminate existing differences, and utilizing democratic forms and methods in the interests of close cooperation on the widest possible scale with the masses of working people."

Advocacy of a multi-party system—which in fact did develop during the Nagy regime—was implied in the essay though not specifically stated. Nowhere does Nagy urge "yielding of the power of the working class"; and in fact in China a multi-party system does exist without such a surrender.

There are other accusations of contacts with British and U.S. agents but no details are offered. The Nagy government is said to have turned the Petofi Circle into a "forum for attacks against the party and the state." Actually the Circle was an organization of writers and artists which had been strictly non-controversial during the Rakosi regime but which was outspoken and critical following the 20th Congress.

ON THE CARDINAL: The whole group was convicted of having " 'rehabilitated' the lawfully and justly sentenced Joszef Mindszenty, the former Prince Primate, and made him take a stand against the People's Republic." The Cardinal was undeniably freed during the Nagy regime but his release had been ordered in a public announcement on July 16, 1955, when Rakosi was in office, though he was not actually set free at the time. On Feb. 25, 1956, the Rakosi government freed nine of those convicted with the Cardinal. Why Mindszenty had to be "made" to take such a stand was not made clear in the communiqué.

The indictment was a blanket one and all the defendants were tagged with the general guilt of the Nagy government. Gen. Maleter, who had fought Franco in Spain and the Nazis and the Hungarian fascists in the underground, had led the National Guard and other organized military arms of the Nagy government during the uprising. At the height of the fighting he told reporters that his forces were "fighting on two fronts: against the Stalinists and the reactionaries."

COUNTER-REVOLUTION: In his writings Nagy repeatedly proclaimed his adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Shortly after the uprising had been put down, Kadar and Khrushchev both referred to his regime as weak and ineffectual, as a "cover" for counter-revolution, but never as counter-revolutionary. In a radio broadcast on Nov. 11, 1956, Kadar said that "the counter-revolution would have discarded the Nagy government or any other government based on democratic order." Since then the official view has changed.

The official Hungarian view that Nagy was in effect anti-communist and counter-revolutionary agrees with the most reactionary anti-communist view of Nagy in the U.S. Frederick Praeger, who published Nagy's book in the U.S., wrote in a "publisher's note": "The tragic irony of the book and of Nagy's position is that his program, though couched in Communist terminology, buttressed with the Communist scriptures, and proposed as the only 'correct' application of theory as opposed to Rakosi's 'deviations,' is in direct opposition to all the realities of Communism, and Nagy cannot see this." Similarly Endre Marton, former Associated Press correspondent in Budapest, wrote of him: "Though a Communist, he became the leader of an anti-Communist revolution . . he had to die." The Budapest court apparently concurred.

LEGALITY AND POLITICS: In legal and civil-liberties terms, the communique of the Hungarian government — a combination of indictment, verdict, white paper and death notice—is senseless. As a political statement, underscored by a firing squad, the executions may be considered and their consequences weighed.

Tried, convicted and liquidated along with Nagy and his associates were a set of ideas. This seemed to be the purpose of including in the bill of particulars the references to Nagy's writings, cited as the ideology of counter-revolution. To a world Communist movement that had been shaken ever since the 20th Congress, the executions in Hungary seemed to signal that the argument was ended—except in a limited range—and that the talk of "many roads" bordered by "many flowers blooming" could lead only to counter-revolution for which the wages are death.

The Yugoslav government also was arraigned and convicted, along with the "black flag of national communism." Yugoslav officials were accused of having allowed Nagy to operate politically from his sanctuary in the Budapest Embassy. Yugoslavia denied this last week but, again, legalisms were beside the point. What was condemned was the Yugoslav idea that a people could choose to take its own road to socialism, a heresy damned as "revisionism."

A FORGOTTEN LESSON: It was dismaying to find the socialist countries still using the methods of secret trial and secret execution after the "excesses" of earlier years had been so thoroughly condemned. It was still more disheartening to find socialists seeking to kill ideas by killing those who hold them. As rebels, these same socialists used to say that ideas could not be hanged or shot, and that such methods made martyrs who would be more dangerous to the existing order dead than they were alive. It was a lesson that Communists died to teach to an old order. It is a lesson seemingly forgotten in the new.

The executions seemed designed to shatter the hopes of those for whom socialism means not only material benefits, but social justice as well; who saw on the horizon the prospect of a socialist society, equipped with a full parliamentary democracy and a non-political judiciary such as the capitalist world has never known. The verdict seemed to say that, for the present at least, it was enough to make socialism work for the people, but fatal to insist that it be of or by the people.

Notes of an American on a European j

By Harvey O'Connor

NETHERLANDS, January: A cozy, snug, shipshape little country. Even the taverns have lace curtains, not at all concealing neat tables with gingham cloths, cheerful lamps, citizens enjoying a snack or a beer. Everything small, tidy, like the trim, smartly varnished, home-like cabins that perch near the sterns of the ungainly barges nestled along the canals. Everything planned, because there are so many people and so little land; a triumph of intelligence over Nature's niggardliness. Even the Zuider Zee surrenders to the planners—a great dike now guards it from the North Sea; acre by acre the Dutch engineers wrest the polders from the salt waters.

Nothing by chance here. The country's economy is run by the Social and Economic Institute. It is as if the Eisenhower Administration, the NAM and the AFL-CIO had set up such an institute to run the United States. The learned men designated by Government, employers and unions determine what is to be produced and how it is to be divided, down to the last florin. The Government itself is a coalition of Socialists and Catholics.

MODERATION FOR ALL: Why this strange alliance? Some explain that it grew out of the Resistance, and the Dutch claim their Resistance was the best—at any rate the most carefully planned—in all Europe. When the last Nazi had retreated, the Resistance, non-believer, Catholic and Protestant, employer and worker, bourgeois and farmer, all vowed to continue their alliance to rebuild the land from its ashes. 'Moderation' was to be the watchword for all factions. It was that way, one recalls, in France, too, in 1945.

The unions are split three ways—Socialist, 500,000; Catholic, 300,000; Protestant, 200,000. But they cooperate on wage programs, negotiations. Strikes are few and far between. After all, the learned gentlemen of the Economic and Social Institute have estimated the national income and its division. By Continental standards, wages are low, but it is said that real income of workers has gained 20% within the past five years.

"What is the ultimate goal of Socialism in Holland?"

"Well, we have a bad housing shortage. Young people don't get married because there is a five-year waiting list for a place to live. We've got to build more housing."

"Well, why don't you? The country seems to be rich, in any event there is luxury for some, that's obvious. Why not raise taxes?"

"Oh, we can't do that. Already taxes are too high. We need more capital for more industrial expansion so we can remain competitive in the world market. Holland has no natural resources, nothing. We make our living by importing raw materials, exporting finished products. Only so much can be appropriated for new housing each year, and it just isn't enough."

And then there's Indonesia. Tens of thousands of Dutch families are returning, in many cases from the land of their birth to a strange country in western Europe, thus adding to unemployment, to the housing shortage.

And the Indonesians? "Children, just children, ruining Indonesia which we Dutch knew so well how to manage so that both we and the native people prospered."

(The quotes are all from trade union officials, members of the Socialist Party).

BELGIUM, January: The Belgians say the Dutch are far too orderly. The Belgians prefer a certain independence of manner. For centuries they had the Germans, the Spaniards, the French and the Dutch as conquerors, so they don't care overmuch for governments of any kind, including their own, it is said. Many even have a genial contempt for their King, so different from the Dutch and the British.

Here it's the Socialists and Liberals who run the government in coalition. Occasionally there are strikes, for the economy isn't run as tidily as the Dutch. And there's a sizeable Left movement among the Socialists, raising holy Ned

Wall Street Journal

"Andrew's philosophy is, material things don't bring happiness."

with the party bureaucracy. The Left highlights Algeria. But how about the Congo?

"The Congo? That's different. There are only 100,000 Europeans in the Congo, no 'settlers,' no 'colons.' After all the scandals years ago in the Congo, King Leopold offered to give the country to Belgium (it had been his own personal property). Parliament accepted it only by a narrow majority. If and when the Congolese want their freedom, they can have it. No Belgian would fight for it."

Well, here's hoping.

FRANCE, February: "What is a Socialist?", a French Force Ouvriere (Socialist) union official repeated. "Why, he's a good bit like a Democrat in your country."

"What's wrong in France? Prices, prices, always going up. It's the crazy shopkeepers, millions of them, leeches on the economic system. They join together in unions of their own to keep prices going up. We get a wage increase and what good does it do, the shopkeepers get it."

Across the years, Paris always looks the same, I remarked. "Yes, that's the trouble," the union official said. "Always the same, only every year a little older, a little worse so far as workers' housing is concerned. You see hardly any new housing for workers inside the city and precious little in the industrial suburbs. A family in a room or two, that's common, no toilet, sometimes not even water. No wonder," said the Socialist, "that so many workers vote Communist. They think the further Left they vote the more it'll show how they hate the stinking set-up."

THE BIG QUESTION: No conversation in France avoids Algeria for long. The Force Ouvriere official wasn't long in coming to it. "The Algerian rebels are a bunch of Communists, of gangsters, a tiny minority. If they should win, all North Africa would go Communist, and then Italy and the whole Mediterranean, and then France. You'd be next."

"You mean the United States?"

"Yes, that's exactly what I mean. We saved you in 1947 when we broke the Communist general strike. Here we are now holding the breach in Algeria and what does your Dulles do? Stab us in the back at Suez. Play around with Bourguiba in Tunisia. If France goes Communist, you're next, but the Americans seem too stupid to realize it."

Is there any hope that Socialists and Communists—workers all—might get together in France? The Force Ouvriere official exploded. Perhaps he had had one Ricard too many. Perhaps he isn't typical of Force Ouvriere, although he held a high position in it. "Listen," he said. "As between Standard Oil and a Communist fellow-worker at my bench, I'll choose Standard Oil any time. For I know that while my machine gun points at Standard Oil, my Communist fellow-worker will have his machine gun pointed at my back."

"He gets kind of dramatic at times, doesn't he?", remarked another Force Ouvriere official as the machine-gunner departed. "He fought with the Resistance in the woods. He's not half bad."

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT: For the moment a few words had lit up the dark chasm that divides the French labor movement; a chasm so like that which helped Hitler to power some 25 years ago.

Another Socialist, leader in a movement to create a left Socialist Party, had different thoughts on Algeria. "There's some hope," he said, (speaking in February) "that a North African Federation can be formed, linked to France in a kind of economic union but with political autonomy. It's feasible politically. Bourguiba and his Neo-Destour party are conservative nationalists and so of course is King Mohammed in Morocco.

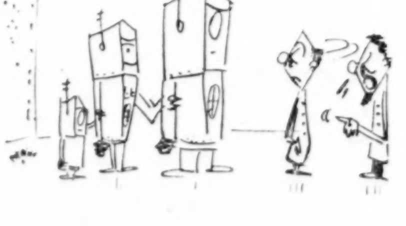
"They're afraid that radical nationalists will take over in Algeria if the war continues. Because Algeria is by far the most advanced North African country. Bourguiba and Mohammed are afraid that if radical pro-Nasser Algerians become predominant, similar forces in Tunisia and Morocco would also come to the top.

"That's why they might go for a North African Federation, including Sahara oil, and linked with France. But time is running out."

That was in February.

ITALY, February: Italy, too, attests the massive stabilization and expansion of capitalism in western Europe. War's devastation is all but obliterated; the cities burst with new factories and vast increases in population; the countryside blooms in early springtime, the fields greening and well-tilled.

Capitalist expansion contrasts with Labor stagnation. The Left parties fluctuate in votes from election to election, now up, now down. The uneasy balance between Left, Center and Right is maintained precariously. The industrial working force shrinks in proportion to the total working force as automatic processes take over, and the service trades and bureaucratic paper-workers grow and grow.



Vie Nuove, Rome

Those two experimental models were not supposed to go into production.

"The Italian people are smothered under taxes," exclaims the head of the National Consumers Union. "The income tax—20% in the highest brackets—is the lowest in Europe, and with such loopholes, too. The rich get richer and the poor stay poor.

"For instance, a big New York jeweler comes to Rome twice a year to get rid of stuff too expensive for the Fifth Avenue customers. The son of a Fiat mogul paid 600,000,000 lire ($1,000,000) for earrings of an Indian Maharani as a gift for his wife. But the cup of coffee a workingman drinks has 36 different consumers' taxes heaped on it. Two-thirds of the Government's income is from such taxes. A liter (about a quart) of gasoline is 26 lire (4c) but the taxes bring it up to 142 lire total (24c), the highest in Europe."

POVERTY AND VOTES: Not that the price of gasoline affects a workingman much. A skilled worker without dependents may sport a Vespa or Lambretta motorbike, but the semi-skilled is lucky to have a good bicycle (maybe with a little one-lung motor attached to the front wheel). As for the unemployed, shoe leather is mighty expensive. That holds for northern Italy; as for southern Italy, poverty and disease there are a scandal throughout all Europe (the Communists get a whopping vote from peasants in that area).

As elsewhere, the unions are split along political-religious lines, although there may be a good bit of cooperation when it comes to negotiations and strikes. Government-employer pressure, abetted by the threat that U.S. military contracts won't go to Red-dominated factories, is pushing down membership in the General Confederation of Labor. But that doesn't mean that the Communist-Left Socialist vote will decline in the spring elections, where the ballot is secret and the coercion not so direct. [The Communist-Left vote actually increased slightly.]

Did the events in Hungary weaken the Left? Not appreciably, say non-Labor people. There were losses among the intellectuals, many of whom retired into indifference, cynicism or drifted to the Right. But where can workers turn? They vote Left for economic reasons, and the Italian economy is perhaps the most cruelly oppressive in western Europe. The hopelessness of their own plight, and not events in Hungary, dictate their politics.

GREECE, March: Athens is a melancholy place. How can so much ancient beauty be surrounded by so much modern ugliness? From the glories of the great Museum, from the grandeur of the Acropolis, one steps into the squalor of the modern city. Who cares for beauty?

What would the ancient Greeks think of their city now? Of their Parthenon in ruins because the Venetians blew up a Turkish ammunition dump in the temple, of the British Ambassador who looted the remains for the embellishment of the British Museum in London? In Rome it was much the same; not the Vandals or Goths were the barbarians, but the Popes and Barberini princes who stripped the ancient buildings of their marbles, statues and mosaics to adorn indifferent medieval churches and palaces, leaving only brick ruins for posterity.

THE PRESENCE: Ramshackle Athens reflects the cockroach capitalism of modern Greece, lacking whatever virtues may be found in the bona fide article in western Europe. Elections are in the offing; the conservative press boasts that the Left has been driven into a corner and isolated. (Later it turned out that the Left emerged as the dominant Opposition party, much to the astonishment of the New York **Times**, but not to anyone who has seen the woe-begone slums of Athens and Piraeus).

The first sight the airborne traveler sees coming into Athens is the U.S. Mediterranean fleet swinging at anchor off Piraeus; then the U.S. Airforce lined up on the Athenian airport. The American Presence! Succeeding the British, the Nazi, Turkish, Venetian, Byzantine Presences!

Some day perhaps the Greek people

journey

will be allowed to take over their beautiful country and remake it somewhat in the glory of its gleaming past.

YUGOSLAVIA, April: Dubrovnik, on the Adriatic, is a remnant, marvelously intact, from the 15th Century, when it vied with Venice for the trade of the Orient. Within the great battlements, where **Hamlet** was filmed, the

Sie und Er, Berlin

town exists today as it did 500 years ago, with a quiet radiant harmony of graystone, red-tiled buildings which seem so unreal that they might well be a Hollywood stage setting. Yet it is a living city, and over the ramparts of the old Republic floats now the starred Red Banner of the Yugoslavs.

There is no auto traffic along the handsome main street to interfere with the main business of the late afternoon and evening, the unending promenading of citizens. No neon signs advertise Coca Cola for glaring signs aren't allowed, and there's no Coca Cola in Yugoslavia, only Yugo-Kokta. The shops, well-stocked and attractive, are relaxed for the soft sell, for there is no harried shopkeeper trying to shove his wares on the customer. Under the Yugoslav brand of socialism, the shop is run by the collective of its workers.

SERENITY: The biggest building in Dubrovnik is the school, whence issue happy noises all the livelong day and six days a week. The only signs of luxury are the few big tourist hotels, aimed more at the German mark than the American dollar (although dollars are welcome). Dubrovnik seems to have attained that nightmare of bourgeois moralists—a gray drab social monotony without noisome slums and gaudy palaces.

The streets belong to the people. In all Yugoslavia there are only 6,500 privately-owned autos. The serenity, the quiet, the safety of the streets is balm in Gilead to the harried traveler who knows the horrors of London, Paris, Rome, Beirut and points east and west. There's a lot to be said, obviously, for the 19th Century.

Whether it is right and proper for a socialist land to be relaxed at this fretful point in history is perhaps the crux of the current dispute between Moscow and Belgrade. The dialectic calls for remorseless struggle toward the higher synthesis. But the Yugoslavs seem to feel

London Daily Mirror

"Some day, Son, all this will be yours."

that they have achieved a kind of sanctuary, shielded from the West by Moscow, from the East by Washington, and in this sanctuary they can work out their own brand of socialism at a leisurely pace. But it seems that neither Moscow nor Washington is satisfied with the Yugoslav solution to the power struggle.

SLOW PACE: If lack of autos indicates industrial backwardness, what can one say of the rich countryside, where women spend the days in the fields herding a few dozen sheep, or a few cows? From the Yugoslavs comes the answer: Hardly any country was so ruined by the war; it has taken a decade to rebuild to prewar status; today the people enjoy a substantial standard of living based on the essentials of plain food, simple shelter, warm clothing, even if luxuries such as radios, refrigerators, motorcycles and washing machines cost a king's ransom.

A final note: Beggary is a fairly usual sign of abject poverty; there is no beggary in Yugoslavia. Swarms of police are a fairly good sign of political instability; there aren't many cops visible (partly perhaps because there are no traffic cops, there being little traffic). But—in every public place, every room into which the public may come, handsome Big Brother is there on the wall, looking at you. To a foreigner, it is kind of creepy, but folks say everybody loves Big Brother.

ITALY, May: Political banners flare over all the crooked little streets in Venice. VOTE COMMUNIST, VOTE MONARCHIST, etc., the banners beg. The Left Socialist placards carry the hammer and sickle ensign, the Christian Democrats appeal for "no adventurism."

How romantic Venice is by moonlight, when even the garbage in the canals is silvered and loses some of its smell!

BELGIUM, May: They say 15,000,000 people will see the Brussels Exposition this summer, partly because of the Expo's biggest publicity coup in setting the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. pavilions cheek by jowl in an exercise in peaceful co-existence (with the Arab States somehow symbolically squeezed in between). If you prefer Sputniks and heavy machines, you'll gravitate to the Soviet pavilion.

London Daily Herald

"That reminds me, I'm hungry!"

If you prefer mannequins displaying their charms, you'll tend toward the U.S. pavilion, whose huge interior is dominated by a pool, a runway to it from the mezzanine, and a never-ending stream of beauties (Belgian) parading along it.

Modern architecture is at its finest at the Expo, with dozens of light, airy buildings, some of them seeming to float off into space; the great French pavilion is actually suspended on three long arms and the upper floors, like France, vibrate. A hit of the Fair is the Dutch pavilion which shows real live cows with unimaginable udders, and sheep which actually graze, much to the amazement of city people. The Belgians are showing off the Congo, the British have a 'pub.'

The Czechs exhibit a fairyland of arts and crafts above their ponderous display of machinery. In the upper reaches of the Soviet pavilion an astounding exhibit of Slavic art of the past millenium contrasts uncomfortably with the neurotic sprinkling of 'modern' daubs and squiggles in the U.S. pavilion.

THE VOTING MACHINE: America, though, does herself proud in the amazing Mexican pavilion where jewels of art from pre-Columbian times down to Orozco, Siquieros, Tamayo and Rivera attest the supreme decorative genius of the Mexicans. The U.S. pavilion is lighthearted, casual and quite upper middle

HARVEY O'CONNOR, whose notes on his European travels appear on these two pages, is a sharp-eyed observer of men and events in many countries. Author, pamphleteer and veteran of the trade union wars, he wrote Mellon's Millions *and other works on predatory Americans, and* The Empire of Oil. *In pursuit of material for a new volume on the oil fortunes, O'Connor also spent several months in the Middle East this year. Among his other activities, he is co-chairman with Corliss Lamont of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.*

class in its portrayal of the "typical" American home. One eye-catcher is the voting machine.

The story goes that the hostess spied a handsome young Negro whom she took perhaps to be a French West African. In her best French she inquired if he would like to see how the machine works. "I sure would," he answered, in a soft Southern accent. "Down in Mississippi where I come from they never would let me near one of those things."

Half the world or more isn't at the Expo. India was too poor, Pakistan, too, perhaps, and Indonesia. Maybe China wasn't even asked. Nevertheless the Expo is a gay, inspiriting and successful effort of the nations to show themselves as they wish to be seen, best foot forward. Of this the world could use more.

FRANCE, May: All along the Place de la Concorde black vans lined the curbs. Hundreds, thousands of security

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"—Sartre's books are forbidden but we have an unabridged Paratrooper's Manual . . ."

police lounged about. More thousands along the Champs Elysees and the Arc de Triomphe; the Chamber of Deputies walled in by 'flics.' To defend the Fourth Republic, or to usher in the dictatorship? Perhaps the answer was in the riots of a few weeks before when the very same police had tried to storm the Chamber, crying, "Throw the Deputies into the Seine."

In the battle of slogans, walls all over Paris were inscribed, Call de Gaulle to Power, Defend the Republic. An obscure scrawl read: Jews, Go Home. Some said France stood on the eve of civil war; others said the people couldn't care less whether the Deputies were thrown into the Seine or packed off to Algeria. The brave slogan, Defend the Republic, what did it actually signify? Save the Deputies? Hardly; the French Parliament perhaps had never been in lower repute. Open committees were formed in the arrondisements to Save the Republic. How? With mimeograph machines, it seemed. Other committees, not so open, were forming, with the battle cry, Algeria is French!

ABSENCE OF PASSION: The Communists and Socialists called for Resistance, but their cries seemed rhetorical. Resist what? Hadn't de Gaulle said that he came to save the Republic, not to bury it? Along the boulevards life went on as ever; the political crisis was a nuisance, but seemed to be hardly more than a subject of conversation.

What would the Communists do? The guess was, nothing much beyond words. What could they do? The terrible fact was being revealed that racialism had bitten deeply into the French working class. There are half a million Algerians in France, working usually at sub-standard wages, living in the most wretched tenements, on a different cultural level. The racial poison which works so effectively in the U.S. working class, was being injected into the French working class.

Even the Communists, most forthright of all the parties in their stand for Algeria, muted the cry of Independence and contented themselves with the slogan, Peace in Algeria. The General Confederation of Labor called for a transport strike in Paris, but the buses ran normally and the subways nearly so. Not many workers could raise up a passion for Defense of the Republic when it meant Defense of the Deputies. It seemed that while France was fed up with its fragmentized, ineffective Parliament, nobody meant to do much about it.

THE ANVIL: Bigger of course than the racial issue in depressing the French working class was the fatal division of the labor parties. On that division Hitler rode to power 25 years before; today, de Gaulle. Does history teach nothing?

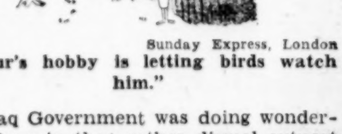
A Communist-Socialist front, with support from the more liberal elements in the Center, could easily have given a stable majority to a Cabinet of the Left, pledged to peace in Algeria, reform at home. With the Communists pushed beyond the pale, only a patchwork coalition of the irresolute Center was possible, a Center which could neither fight the war in Algeria to victory, nor grant independence, nor act on domestic reform.

Many hoped de Gaulle would be as good as his buttery words. Others point out that he has no political machine of his own; he must rely on the Army, whose command has always been ultra-Rightist, and on the barbarous paratrooper chieftains in Algeria. They feel he must end as a creature of the militarists, or be broken by them. On the anvil of reaction, perhaps, may be forged the unity of the Left, to preserve for the French nation the slogan of all the Republics—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

ENGLAND, May: In Paris, on the brink of fascism, the busmen ignored the union summons to a general strike. In London, the busmen, granted their wage demands within the city, struck nevertheless to a man because their brothers in the suburbs had been refused a similar increase. Not a bus wheel turned in all London.

Perhaps, after all, there is something to the old Wobbly slogan, Solidarity. The Continental labor movement, bedeviled by political and religious disunity among the unions; the British labor movement, united both on the industrial and political fields, and with religious differences muted even if existent. In Britain, the Left a powerful though minor fraction of the labor movement, tolerated by the Center (up to certain limits); the Right perhaps quite as conservative as the leaders of the AFL-CIO, but in any event they are hitched together instead of pulling apart.

ALWAYS TWO SIDES: The total situation was illustrated by a meeting called by the British Asian Socialist Fellowship, headed by Labor Members of Parliament, to hear a report on that British semi-colony, Iraq. During the discussion of the report, a Labor MP rose to say that he had met the King of Iraq, and he was an intelligent, pleasant fellow, and



Sunday Express, London

"Arthur's hobby is letting birds watch him."

the Iraq Government was doing wonderful things in that rather dismal outpost of imperialism. After the meeting, another MP remarked, "Oh, I expected that. The oil companies just gave him a free junket to the Middle East. They like to do that for Labor MPs who are willing to accept their hospitality."

Maybe the incident proves little—except that there are Labor MPs interested enough to form a Socialist fellowship with Asians and others willing enough to be corrupted by oil money. There are two sides, even to tolerance.

BOOKS

MacLeish's play in verse depicts a modern Job

IN THE PROLOGUE to this modern Book of Job—a verse play called "J. B."*—Archibald MacLeish outlines one of Man's many dilemmas: "I heard upon his dry dung heap/ That man cry out who cannot sleep:/ 'If God is God He is not good,/ If God is good He is not God;/ Take the even, take the odd,/ I would not sleep here if I could/ Except for the little green leaves in the wood/ And the wind on the water.'"

J. B. is the man who has everything—riches, love, children, servants—and therefore believes in a God of justice, of order, a God to be properly thanked. Then God and his "kitchen kin," the Devil, have their little argument about what would happen if God's "perfect, upright man" were to lose all he had. Would he continue to praise God—and see order in the world after a series of senseless disasters reduces him to misery?

THE ARGUMENT actually occurs between a popcorn peddler and a balloon vender in a circus tent. They take up their respective masks of God and Satan and are carried away by their parts. It's easy to find a man to play Job. As the popcorn peddler Satan says: "Job is everywhere we go." He sees: "Millions and millions of mankind/ Burned, crushed, broken, mutilated,/ Slaughtered, and for what? For thinking!/ For walking around the world in the wrong/ Skin, the wrong-shaped noses, eyelids:/ Sleeping the wrong night wrong city—/ London, Dresden, Hiroshima./ There never could have been so many/ Suffered more for less . . ."

J. B. loses a soldier son who is killed senselessly after the war has ended; a daughter raped and murdered by an idiot; his other children die in a car crash. His wife, understandably exasperated by his continued patient faith in God's justice, leaves him. His factories are destroyed in a gigantic explosion, his fortune is wiped out. He, like the original Job, is left a mass of boils, sitting in ashes. And so he comes at last to wonder why.

A seedy red-faced preacher with "the wreck of a clerical collar" insists that salvation can come only if J. B. recognizes, his "guilt" but cannot say the offense J. B. has committed. A man in an interne's jacket "that once was white" analyzes him and finds that he is no more than an ignorant victim of forces beyond consciousness and J. B. angrily rejects him. The third "comforter" is a man in a wind-breaker with the manner of a "park-bench orator" who tells him: "Screw your justice!/ History is justice! —time/ Inexorably turned to truth!—/ Not for one man. For humanity./ One man's life won't measure on it./ One man's suffering won't count, no matter/ What his suffering; but All will./ At the end there will be justice!—/ Justice for All! Justice for everyone!/ On the way—it doesn't matter."

AFTER THUS BRIEFLY dismissing the caricatures of churchly faith, science and politics, J. B. bows not to God's justice or his love but to his power. God then relents; his wife returns; his boils vanish and, to Satan's utter astonishmen, J. B. prepares to resume the whole agonizing senseless business of living.

It is life without justice or any Godly love. J. B.'s wife sets straight a fallen chair and sums up all that is left: "Blow on the coal of the heart./ The candles in churches are out./ The lights have gone out in the sky./ Blow on the coal of the heart/ And we'll see by and by."

That last note is beautifully sounded but other men who have gone down a similar desperate path of reasoning have come to more than that at the end. It is a little disappointing after a trip of such bright wit and crisp, clear thought to end at something bordering on the sentimental. MacLeish gives the three "comforters" a rather quick brush-off. Men, as aware as J. B. of the absurdity of Man's condition, nonetheless find their way to social ends, though perhaps not in the harsh language of the "comforter" in the wind-breaker.

MacLeish's verse has an intellectual brilliance and a wit of razor sharpness but little warmth. The characters in his play are all personifications and there is little humanity in any of them. An examination of Man's condition in such purely intellectual terms tends to leave out the individual man as well as Mankind in general. That is why, perhaps, the end is a let-down. With only understanding but without a feeling for humanity it is hard to summon up at the final curtain enough breath to "blow on the coal of the heart."

—Elmer Bendiner

J. B., a play in verse by Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston. 153 pp. $3.50.

HUMANITY AND RUBBLE: AFTER THE INVASION OF EGYPT
The imperialists played the parts written for them by the pamphleteers

'SUEZ AND AFTER'

A keen-eyed reporter puts the Middle East in focus

THE HEADLINES tell the story: UN Secretary General flies to strife-torn Lebanon. . . . Charges and counter-charges criss-cross over the United Arab Republic. . . . Secy. Dulles weighs Eisenhower Doctrine for Lebanon. To understand the implications of these events, a survey of the last two years in the Middle East is very much needed—and it has been admirably supplied in a new book, **Suez and After,*** by Michael Adams, Middle East correspondent of the **Manchester Guardian.**

Except for diligent students of the Middle East this book is extremely worthwhile. It is made up of Adams' dispatches to his paper for a year, beginning with the day Egypt's President Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. Interspersed are pertinent historical and anlytical material and illuminating commentary.

That was a dramatic year of rapid-fire events which radically altered the relationship of the Arab countries among themselves and with both Eastern and Western powers. It witnessed the controversy over Nasser's right to take over the Canal; the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt; the growth of Arab nationalism which shook feudal monarchs and the foreign investors who prop them up; the proclamation of the Eisenhower Doctrine and its aftermath.

ADAMS SAYS that Egypt had every right to take over the Canal and violated no treaty. As early as Aug. 29, 1956, he wrote that if the West attacked Egypt, it would "be acting the part which cynical pamphleteers have already written for us of bloodsuckers, colonialists, and exploiters." On Sept. 3 he wrote that Egypt would fight if attacked, and warned:

"What matters is not the question of whether they would be a match for any invading army, but the fact that with the first shot fired the invaders would have lost the moral battle and that temporarily, at least, they would lose their oil supplies as well."

Adams rejects the comparison of Nasser with Hitler: "There is no suggestion in Nasser's approach that Arabs or Egyptians are better people than anyone else, there have been no purges, no pogroms, none of the sadism and brutality which degraded Nazi Germany."

He believes that Nasser is "a nationalist ruler" whose objectives of Arab independence is "painful to us but arouses the natural enthusiasm of his own people, and the sympathy of all the ex-colonial nations in Asia and Africa."

He notes shrewdly: "Perhaps the West's tendency to jump to the worst conclusions about Middle Eastern nationalism has its roots in our nostalgia for the days when, if we pulled the strings in the Middle East, the important people danced. Those days are gone—and gone for good."

GAUGING EVENTS on the spot, Adams found the Eisenhower Doctrine to be "a very businesslike scheme to win Arab support for America's strategic interests" by means of a revival of "the heyday of [19th century] gunboat diplomacy." He sent vivid dispatches of U.S. intervention with the Sixth Fleet and "jet planes whistling across the sunlit bay" during the Jordanian crisis and the Lebanese elections which the pro-West candidates won by "falsification of returns, threats, strong pressure on officials, the buying of votes and the intimidation of voters."

Adams finds the U.S. losing by "supporting conservative and illiberal regimes," and the U.S.S.R. gaining by "being on the side of Arab nationalism."

The Israeli-Arab issue, Adams feels, can be solved only if Israel shows willingness to take back some of the Arab refugees; and the West can recoup its losses only by estabilshing contact with the popular forces in the Middle East, instead of the "princes and sheikhs." The author supports his conclusions with striking on-the-spot reporting.

—Kumar Goshal

SUEZ AND AFTER, by Michael Adams. Cartoons by Low. Beacon Press, Beacon Hill, Boston, Mass. 225 pp., including index. $4.50.

Wall Street Journal

'BLACK AS NIGHT'

A Negro family in Georgia

THE LIFE of the vast majority of Southern Negroes is a constant battle with poverty and prejudice. Some manage to live, love and grow, more or less unnoticed, in the shadow of these twin malignancies, adjusting their habits and aspirations to their demands.

For many, life is a torment as they seek, often with no better weapons than the partial facts and social fables bequeathed them by 300 years of folk experience, to fight or flee to equality. The strongest among them exhibit all the qualities which make heroes in life and literature.

The writers who eventually must fully succeed in telling the endless stories of the real lives of these people will contribute much to overcome the relative impoverishment of contemporary American fiction. To do so they will have to know deeply the inner reality as well as the outer appearance of their lives; they will have to understand, against the larger American background, what is common and what is exceptional in their culture; they will have to appreciate the true patterns of their speech.

Daniel D. Nern has tried to do all this in a first novel, **Black As Night,*** but has fallen far short of success. The story is about a Negro family in Georgia and what happens as it realizes its long-held dream of moving to Detroit. There is enough of a plot for a brief tale, and no more; but Nern has used a transparent formula to transform what might have been a good short story into a poor novel. The formula is to contrive a succession of violent episodes and a crew of outlandish characters in order to sustain reader interest on a thin strand of plot.

Rape, murder, escape, riot and miracle—these are the ingredients which may excite thrill-seeking readers, but they add up, under Nern's treatment, to a burlesque of reality. This is unfortunate, because the author apparently sympathizes with his characters. Perhaps he should try again, but not before he has learned a good deal more about them and about his craft.

—Louis E. Burnham

BLACK AS NIGHT, by Daniel D. Nern. Beacon Press, Beacon Hill, Boston. 261 pp. $3.95.

SUGAR WORKERS WIN

A big victory for union in Hawaii strike

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN 13,700 sugar workers on 26 plantations in Hawaii went on strike on Feb. 1 this year, under the leadership of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges, the GUARDIAN (Feb. 24) called it the first major test of "this year's Big Business-government solid opposition to wage increases." Early this month the ILWU, after the longest (126 days) and one of the hardest-fought strikes in Hawaii's history, won the test.

A three-year contract, ratified by the strikers on June 8, provides an immediate wage increase of 16c an hour with an additional 7c boost to be granted in 1960. With increased fringe benefits—overtime, pensions, severance pay, vacations—the package substantially equals the union's original demand for a 25c-an-hour boost.

DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE A SUGAR MILL: THE KIND OF SOLIDARITY THAT WON THE STRIKE

TEST OF STRENGTH: The strike was forced by the employers and was an open test of strength between the union and Hawaii's Big Five, the business combines that control the islands' economy. Two days before the strike deadline, they offered a 4c-an-hour boost in an industry in which the base pay was only $1.12 an hour. The membership overwhelmingly rejected the offer in a secret referendum and the strike was on.

In the third month of the strike the employers increased their offer to an immediate 10c increase, with a nickel more next year, but this was also rejected by the strikers.

As the battle wore on, with the strikers maintaining themselves through self-help (hunting, fishing, gardening) and union support, the companies threatened to "liquidate" whole plantations and go out of business and at one point cancelled the medical aid plan covering all the strikers.

FIGHT FOR EXISTENCE: The ILWU retaliated by voting a $10-a-month assessment on its entire membership, and wrote to all locals:

"The membership [of the sugar locals] remains solid and determined, notwithstanding the privations in a battle of this duration. Morale is high, and solidarity is unshaken. More and more it is becoming apparent that this strike is shaping into a fight for the very existence of the union, with the employers on a campaign to drive the sugar workers into submission.

"The most recent action of the employers was to announce the cancellation of the medical agreements. Events have reached a pretty desperate stage for the employers to take steps to use the health of the children, women and men as a weapon to break the strike."

Late in May Hawaii Gov. William F. Quinn personally intervened and proposed a settlement that became the basis of the final agreement. By that time the employers were complaining that the crops were being ruined beyond salvation, whereupon the union permitted some of its field workers to go back to work for necessary irrigation and maintenance operations.

MEASURE OF CONFIDENCE: The progressive Honolulu **Record** commented on this move:

"No weak union, no strikers tired of their battle, weary with financial and other problems after 120 days of strike, could afford to send a segment of their workers back to work while others maintained the strike—even though the back-to-work group contributed one-fourth of their pay to the strike fund . . .

"This demonstration of unionism evidently convinced the employers that they could never win. And every hour that passed heaped annoyance and flailed them with humiliation and chagrin—for while they had cried that their crop was drying and they were going bankrupt, they were witnessing the saving of the crop by strikers—the crop they could not harvest. The union would irrigate but not harvest.

"The employers witnessed not only militant unionism but a responsible union with honest, devoted, alert and capable leaders whose strategy, combined with rank-and-file solidarity, licked them in the fight they had asked for."

A UNION VICTORY: When the end came on June 6, ILWU leaders said simply that they had won "a contract we can accept with dignity" and that the settlement was reached "on terms and conditions that represent a victory for the union."

The sugar strike, forced upon the union as a showdown battle, seems to have entrenched the ILWU more strongly than ever in Hawaii. Last week the union showed new strength on the mainland when it announced an agreement for full cooperation with the powerful Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters led by James Hoffa. Neither union gave any details of the agreement, but a joint press release of June 12 announced a meeting of representatives of warehouse locals of the two organizations and said:

"A full review was made of the current warehouse agreements which are now being negotiated.

"The two unions saw eye to eye on all issues."

Blocks to summit

dependence and friendship among the countries of the region.

LONG AGENDA: This is a fantastically comprehensive summit agenda, which the U.S. and its allies could hardly use even as a basis of negotiations among themselves. Dulles was reported to have told Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) that "there isn't any miracle solution" at the summit on the basis of the limited agenda proposed by Moscow. Yet he was demanding nothing short of "a miracle solution" by insisting that the summit meeting should try to solve every conceivable problem, from disarmament to unrestricted radio broadcasts.

Premier Khrushchev, after considering this awesome agenda, wrote to the heads of the Big Three Western powers that "it is difficult to escape the conclusion" that the authors of these proposals chose issues "not yet ripe for settlement" so as to scuttle the summit meeting.

He said the Soviet Union was not a weak state and needed no "assurances" from the West for its security; a non-aggression agreement between Warsaw Pact and NATO members would better stabilize the international situation, showing the world that the most powerful states do not want war.

KHRUSHCHEV'S LIST: Khrushchev added that the only realistic way to conduct a summit meeting was to single out issues which could be most readily resolved, and to proceed afterwards to the more complex problems.

Among the issues ripe for solution, he listed: suspension of nuclear tests; renunciation of the use of nuclear and rocket weapons (not the mere halt of producing fissionable material for nuclear weapons); creation of a neutral zone in Central Europe; banning the use of outer space for military purposes and dismantling foreign military bases; measures to prevent surprise attacks; expansion of international trade; renunciation of the use of force in the Middle East.

Khrushchev made public his latest letter to Western heads of government apparently to enlist the support of world public opinion to modify Dulles' inflexible position and to hasten a top level conference.

THE "OUT": In the news of the Hungarian executions Washington, London and Paris seemed to seek an excuse to postpone, if not avoid altogether, a summit conference. There was considerable talk in Western administration circles of the "undependability of communist pledges." It seemed obvious, though, that no great power has hesitated to break pledges; that each power would attend a summit meeting for its own benefit; and fulfillment of summit agreement would depend not so much on any "pledge" but on reliable inspection systems.

U.S. interest in a summit conference that might result only in suspension of nuclear tests would lie in the fact that even this minimum accomplishment would benefit Americans directly. Not only for the rest of the world but for Americans, too, it would reduce radiation, war danger and defense expenditure, help America's economy by enabling the U.S. to increase foreign aid and trade in a more relaxed international atmosphere.

BOMB HANDOUT: Washington, however, seemed little interested in relaxing world tension, as the House of Representatives approved 345-12 an amendment to the 1946 Atomic Energy Law, empowering the Administration to share nuclear weapons information with its allies. Senate passage of the amendment seemed assured. It would hardly be difficult to imagine the consequences of arming Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, for example, with nuclear weapons

The only opening in the Dulles curtain across the summit was the appointment of top Soviet scientists to the July Geneva conference to work out a nuclear test suspension inspection system, which even the U.S. State Dept. found "gratifying."

On June 20, however, Washington tried to close this gap by unexpectedly adding Canada to its Anglo-French-American scientists' team, while it confined the Eastern team to the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia and it denied India's representation at Geneva. The U.S. thus insisted on continuing to play with loaded dice—the tactic which had blocked the UN disarmament discussions.

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Un-American quiz

(Continued from Page 1)

placement, "The Investigator," and of sections of the "Omnibus" program. Immediately after his testimony the producers of "Twenty-One" announced he was being fired on the demand of the National Broadcasting Co. He also lost the chance to direct the Dinah Shore show promised him next fall.

The Columbia Broadcasting System moved with equal haste to dismiss Joseph Papp, stage manager for the Gary Moore TV show, "I've Got a Secret." Papp is also founder and producer of the N.Y. Shakespeare Festival which has presented free performances of Shakespearean drama in Central Park and elsewhere.

Shakespeare's devotees fared badly in the hearings. Following his appearance, Bernard Gersten, stage manager of the American Shakespeare Festival company at Stratford, Conn., learned that the theater's board of trustees was being called together to "carefully consider all pertinent facts."

Dubin's firing drew the prompt fire of the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union which charged that "NBC's action shows no regard for common sense or fair play and can only help preserve McCarthyism." The CLU questioned "how national security could be endangered by Mr. Dubin's continued employment as director of 'Twenty-One', regardless of his past—or even present—political affiliation." It complained that NBC had shown "total disregard for the importance of maintaining our Constitutional liberties."

As one witness followed another, staff director and chief counsel Richard Arens asked the same tedious questions that have become the committee's stock in trade. Had they signed this petition or helped that committee? Did this one know Paul Robeson and did that one attend a film festival in Berlin? The witnesses, for the most part, relied on their rights under the First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer. Some challenged the committee's authority.

Paul Mann, an actor, director and drama teacher, based his challenge on the Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case. In that June, 1957, decision the Court found that the committee's powers were vague and undefined and denounced "Congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure."

ANYBODY SEEN O'CASEY? Mann drew applause from the audience when he declared he would submit himself "to the standards of the American theater-going public and critics but not to the standards of this committee." The way to build the theater, he said, "is to subsidize it—not to investigate it. Our country is in need of a national theater, and not of censorship and blacklist."

Arens drew snickers when he asked the witness if he had "had consultations with" a man named Seen O'Casey in the course of a 1950 European trip. When Mann informed him that O'Casey is one the world's greatest living playwrights and that his Irish first name, Sean, is pronounced Shawn, Arens hastened to the next question.

Will Lee, actor, director and teacher at the American Theater Wing school, provided the committee with an impressive list of his acting credits, including "The Shrike," which he described as "a play about a bird that picks your brains out." Beyond that he would not budge, except to attack the committee's authority. He was born in Brooklyn, he said, and had learned in P.S. 144 that the Constitution permits a citizen to say, think and join what he pleases; he would not draw a shadow over the Constitution by obliging the committee.

SOUR NOTE: When Rep. Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio) tried to impugn his patriotism by noting that the U.S. and the Soviet Union were co-belligerents when Lee served in the Army during World War II, the actor commented wryly: "There was no mention of that fact on the greetings I received from the President."

That the committee saw something menacing in international cultural exchange was made plain by the questions put to Arthur Lief, a musician. Lief is now the American guest conductor with the Moiseyev dancers, the Russian troupe that has been drawing raves from audiences in all parts of the country. He has served in a similar capacity for the Imbal dancers, an Israeli folk dance group, and the Royal Ballet of London.

Arens wanted to know how Lief got his job, what was the politics of members of the orchestra, and whether Lief had had any but musical relations with the dancers. But the conductor refused to play the Director's tune and the duo ended on a note of disharmony.

Other unfriendly witnesses were Adelaide Klein, who recently concluded an appearance in the Broadway production of "Jayne Eyre"; actors Clifford Carpenter and Earl Jones; musicians Carol Hollister, Paul Villard, Ben Steinberg and Leon Portnoy; songwriter Irwin Silber; Richard Sasuly, a writer; press agent James D. Proctor, and Israel Lazar, who was described as a former official of the Communist Party.

LONELY FINGERMAN: John Lautner, committee hireling who serves as a "consultant" on Communism, revealed his loneliness by making a bid to almost 60,-000 persons to join him in informing. There were 60,000 members in the last Party registration he participated in in 1948-9, he said. Though the Party is only a fraction of its former size, he claimed its influence is as big as ever. Why? Because the 60,000 members of a decade ago are "still part of an international conspiracy," Lautner contended. "If they weren't they'd step forward as I have done to help with the work of this Committee."

The New York hearings began a year and a day after the Supreme Court Watkins decision. A year before that decision was handed down, William K. Sherwood, a 41-year-old Stanford Univ. research scientist who had been smeared by the Committee, committed suicide. In the interim the un-Americans have held 12 or more public and executive hearings in various parts of the country, subpenaing an estimated 200 witnesses. Twenty-two cases involving contempt citations for refusal to knuckle before the House Committee or the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee are currently awaiting judicial review.

Despite the Court injunction that "the power of the Congress to conduct investigations . . . is not unlimited," the committee goes on its way with a minimum of oppostion outside the hearing rooms. Members of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee distributed literature outside the Courthouse calling for abolition of the un-Americans and reported that the material was well received. But the House Committee has not yet been confronted with the kind of mass revulsion which must eventually call a halt to its activities.

Its next inquisition is scheduled for July 1 in Atlanta. Prominent figures in the fight against segregation have already received subpenas to appear.

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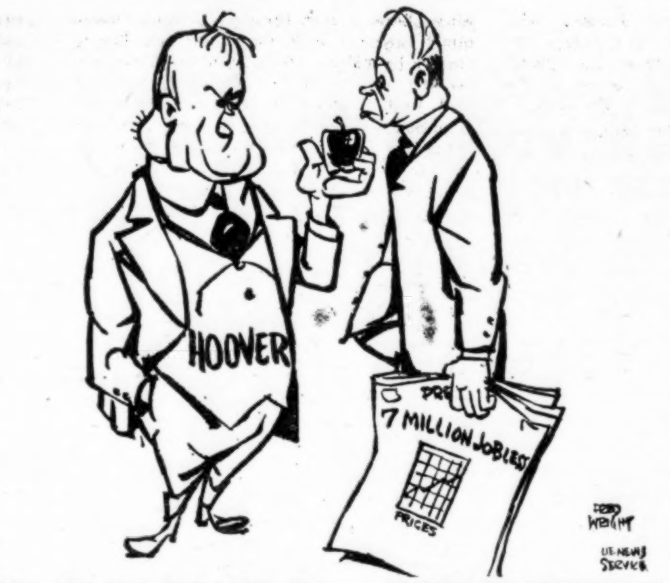

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THE GALLERY

STUDENT ESSAYS ON HIROSHIMA have been a center of controversy at the Hanover, N.J., high school recently. The school paper printed three essays criticizing the atom-bombing of Hiroshima. Thereupon veterans' groups launched an extended attack against Miss Lemoyne Goodman, the teacher who had assigned the reading of John Hersey's **Hiroshima**, the book which provoked the essays. Miss Goodman offered her resignation to the Board of Education in protest. The Board has recommended that Miss Goodman be asked to withdraw her resignation. This passage in one of the essays irked the veterans: "Hiroshima has awakened me and shaken the American propaganda dust from my eyes. Now I see clearly."

CHINESE ZOOS SEEM TO BE HAVING an easier time than American zoos getting animals from other countries. A while back the State Dept. refused to admit a panda from China into the U.S. Recently the Peking zoo received a gift rhinoceros from the Kingdom of Nepal named "Peace." . . . Mrs. Betty Conrad of San Francisco was so swept away by the Moiseyev Dance company when it played in the Bay Area that she simply picked up the phone when she returned home and invited "any or all" of the troupe over to her house. Six dancers turned up, sat around on the floor with Betty and children, ate cheesecake and fresh raspberries and waded in the Pacific.

Sunday Express, London
"Don't let him bluff you, he's extinct."

SCIENCE FICTION MERGES with J. Edgar's boys to produce a new TV show this fall called "World of Giants." The CBS press release states: "World of Giants (8-8:30 p.m., EDT) is a fascinating espionage story dealing with an FBI agent who has the hidden ability to assume smaller physical proportions, a power which enables him to serve his country and confuse the opposing forces." . . . Another weapon was used against the "opposing forces" in New York City recently. Aware, Inc., held a reception to welcome to town the members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities under the general title: "Cocktails Against Communism." . . . One of the Civil Defense lessons being given southeast London housewives is: "How to Make a Cup of Tea after an Atom Bomb Attack."

SEX IN SPACE was dealt with in a paper prepared for delivery at the semi-annual meeting of the American Rocket Society. It urges the establishment of a co-educational space academy aimed at producing man and wife space teams and thus minimizing the problems of isolation on long space flights. The paper also suggests that some couples may choose to remain indefinitely in space. "The experience of weightlessness in space may turn out to be highly stimulating—a pleasant experience with a strong attraction for many individuals." . . . A nationwide conference on automation held in the Kremlin heard a report from Josef Kuzmin, Deputy Prime Minister, stating: "Tests of the world's first robot engine driver which, without human interference, could drive a locomotive according to the required schedule better than the most experienced human driver, are nearing completion on railway lines around Moscow."

HUMANE OFFICERS IN PASADENA, CALIF., have ordered Mrs. Nancy Ewing to quit blindfolding her German shepherd, King Boy, when taking him for walks. She explained: "I just didn't want King Boy to see all the evil in the world. I didn't want him to see bad people." . . . In Louisiana, if a man steals a loaf of bread he faces a $100 fine or six months in jail. If he attempts to steal a loaf of bread and fails, he faces a $200 fine or a year in jail. . . .

WHY WOULD A WOMAN SELL HER BABY on the black market? The Miami **Herald** got the following answer from one of its readers who had been deserted by her husband and was expecting a child. For that reason she was unable to get employment. "For the first time in my life I need financial help because I find I cannot help myself. But when I ask the welfare department, I am told there is only one way they will give assistance. I must do one small thing . . . I must give up my child." . . . The American Civil Liberties Union is giving help to a Mexican laborer in Milwaukee who faces criminal charges because of the death of his year-old daughter. A one-year residency relief law may have prevented the infant from receiving needed food, shelter and medical care.

ONE HIGH-PRICED MANAGEMENT consulting firm has recommended to its client that paper-towel racks in the firm's washrooms be raised two inches. "By this method the person drying his hands must raise them higher to pull out a towel. This causes water to run down the forearms, thereby creating an uncomfortable feeling, and it can be assumed that the user will then hurriedly pull out only one towel instead of two." . . . Babies have their first shoes, teenagers their first formal dresses or suits. Now Olin Mathieson is offering a "first shotgun specially designed for women and teenagers."

—**Tim Wohlforth**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Culture and sanity

LONDON

WHILE BRITISH SCIENTISTS were profoundly impressed with the launching of the giant Sputnik III, for the British people as a whole the big new "Sputnik" from the U.S.S.R. is the Moscow Art Theatre in its performances of Chekhov plays. No one who is aware of the power of culture in building international bridges will be surprised that the visiting actors at the Sadler's Wells have had a broader immediate impact.

In social gatherings everywhere the entirely new concept of Chekhov's plays, which were already familiar and beloved in this country, is the main topic. With both critics and public the visiting Muscovites have scored an even more complete triumph than did the Moiseyev dancers in New York—if that is conceivable.

San Francisco Chronicle
Isn't there any easier way?

The general feeling is that, after many London productions of Chekhov in the last three decades, we are now seeing his plays for the first time as they really are. The **Manchester Guardian** critic Vera Lindsay was lyrical in her report on the production of **The Cherry Orchard,** "reconsidered and refelt in today's terms." The actors, she wrote, brought out "to marvelous effect" Chekhov's tackling of the question, not merely of what will happen to the orchard, but what will happen to the human race. They "touched chords within us which do not respond to naturalistic drama but only to those intimations which are the province of poetry."

CRITIC KENNETH TYNAN of the **Observer** wrote of the false romanticized way **The Cherry Orchard** has always been presented here, full of "nostalgia for the past which, though it runs right through our culture, is alien to Chekhov's," and entirely losing "the calm, genial sanity of the play." Chekhov, he said, is "full of common sense" and so are the Moscow Art Theater performers, who so far as London is concerned have given the play "a total spring-cleaning."

Instead of an old-regime family "crazily expiring with a pathetic jest on its lips," they present "a real family . . . essentially normal and undoomed . . . recognizable human beings in a mess rather than freaks trapped in a tragic impasse."

Tynan recalled that while London has always seen Trofimov as "a hare-brained booby," the Tsarist censor "took him seriously enough to expunge several of his more critical speeches."

In the last act of **The Three Sisters,** "the high watermark of 20th-century drama," the "superb company meets the challenge as if opening the door to an old friend," although all three sisters are actresses new to the roles. Comparing them with English actors Tynan wrote: "We act with our voices, they with their lives. Where we leave off, they begin."

HAROLD HOBSON in the right-wing **Sunday Times**—a critic whose views normally are in flat contradiction to Tynan's—wondered "whether we have ever really known Chekhov at all," and whether our traditional version is not "a figment of sentimental British imagination."

The essential difference as he saw it was that "we are saddened by the thought of the useless cherry trees being chopped down to make room for profitable bungalows, but the Russian is glad." We "lament the passing of the old order" but the Russians "rejoice in the coming of the new" and associate Chekhov with "the young, the optimistic and the victorious."

Of the **Three Sisters** production, he said it followed the accepted English interpretation but did it "better, more assuredly, with brighter sunshine gleaming through more shimmery rain . . ."

Millions in Britain, weary of the war of weapons and words between governments, are coming to feel that only the exchange of such cultural Sputniks can bring sanity back.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

Welcome newspaper

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN headline last winter, "Morton Sobell wins removal to Atlanta," was the biggest and most welcome news to us in a long, long time. None of the local papers considered it news. I hope that those who have not yet renewed subs for the GUARDIAN will feel as my husband and I do how valuable the GUARDIAN is (we couldn't do without it).

We look forward to the near future for our GUARDIAN to be able to announce to the world Mr. Sobell's freedom.

Nina & Anselm Hammer

Edward P. Reilly

EDWARD P. REILLY, playwright and husband of Edna G. Reilly, longtime American Labor Party leader, died June 20 at the age of 78 in New York. He was a veteran of the Spanish-American War and World War I. The Reillys collaborated some years ago on the play **Before Morning,** which was playing at Broadway's Ritz Theater when the bank holiday shut it down with many other plays in 1933. Messages may be sent to Mrs. Reilly at 781 Eighth Av., New York 19.